

## Message Text

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TO CINCPACREP GUAM

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 173075

FOR MATTHEW NIMETZ, COUNSELOR, DEPT OF STATE

FOLLOWING REPEAT BELGRADE 4974 ACTION SECSTATE INFO CSCE  
CONFERNECE COLLECTIVE USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN TEHRAN JUL 22.  
QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L BELGRADE 4974

DEPT FOR EUR/RPM, EUR/SOV

USCINCEUR FOR POLAD

LDROM USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE

SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE -- WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS, JULY 16-22

REF: BELGRADE 4805

SUMMARY: PREPARATORY MEETING RESOLVED ISSUE OF CONTRIBUTIONS  
BY NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES,  
MADE PROGRESS ON ISSUE OF HOW WORK WOULD BE DIVIDED BETWEEN  
PLENARY AND WORKING BODIES, AND PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED MORE  
THAN HALF OF PARAGRAPHS IN COMPROMISE PACKAGE PROPOSAL PUT  
FORWARD BY NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED STATES (NNA). ISOLATED SOVIET  
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DEL WARNED THAT THERE COULD BE NO MAIN MEETING IN FALL UNLESS  
IT HAD A FIXED TERMINATION DATE. SOVIET POSITION ON DURATION  
RAISES PROSPECT THAT PREPARATORY MEETING MAY NOT CONCLUDE BY  
END OF JULY. EXPECT FACT IS THAT SOVIETS WILL NOT INDICATE  
WHAT FLEXIBILITY -- IF ANY -- THEY HAVE ON THIS ISSUE  
UNTIL LATE NEXT WEEK WHEN PRESSURE ON WESTERN AND NNA DELS  
TO COMPROMISE WILL BE GREATEST. END SUMMARY

1. WORKING BODIES: SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES MADE FORMAL PROPOSALS JULY 16 TO CUT SUBSTANTIALLY NUMBER OF MEETINGS ASSIGNED TO WORKING BODIES AND TO FIX FIRM TERMINATION DATE FOR MAIN MEETING. AS EXPECTED, THEIR PROPOSALS MET COOL RESPONSE FROM WEST, NNA, AND ROMANIA. DURING WEEK, HOWEVER, VIEWPOINTS ON FORMER ISSUE WERE BROUGHT CLOSER TOGETHER. SOVIETS STARTED WITH PROPOSAL THAT WORKING BODIES ON EACH OF THREE MAIN FINAL ACT BASKETS MEET NO MORE THAN FOUR TIMES PER WEEK FOR FIVE WEEKS (18-20 MEETINGS IN ALL). NNA POSITION WAS APPROXIMATELY SIX TIMES PER WEEK FOR EIGHT WEEKS (48 MEETINGS IN ALL). SOVIETS HAVE INDICATED THEY CAN COME TO FIVE TIMES PER WEEK FOR SIX WEEKS (30 MEETINGS) AND NNA HAVE COME DOWN TO FIVE TIMES PER WEEK FOR EIGHT WEEKS (40 MEETINGS) AND HINTED THAT ACCEPTABLE COMPROMISE MIGHT BE FIVE TIMES PER WEEK FOR SEVEN WEEKS (35 MEETINGS). WEST AND NNA HAVE INDICATED THAT IF REASONABLE NUMBER OF MEETINGS OF WORKING BODIES ARE ASSURED, THEY COULD ACCEPT SOVIET REQUIREMENT THAT PLENARY ALSO MEET AT LEAST THREE TIMES WEEKLY DURING THIS PERIOD. SOVIET AND NNA-WESTERN POSITIONS ON LESSER NUMBER OF MEETINGS THAT WOULD BE GIVEN TO WORKING BODIES ON MEDITERRANEAN AND FOLLOW-UP ARE ALSO NOT TOO FAR APART.

2. MAIN REMAINING PROBLEM IN THIS AREA IS WHETHER THERE WILL BE A FIXED NUMBER OF WEEKS IN WHICH WORKING BODIES

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MUST COMPLETE THEIR WORK. NNA FORMULA, WHICH WEST SUPPORTS, ENVISAGES A TARGET DATE FOR COMPLETION OF WORK IN WORKING BODIES. SOVIETS WANT AN AUTOMATIC TERMINATION AFTER A GIVEN NUMBER OF WEEKS, AND HAVE PROPOSED THAT A DRAFTING GROUP BE ESTABLISHED WHEN WORKING BODIES FINISH, IN ORDER TO PREPARE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. RESOLUTION OF THIS ISSUE, HOWEVER, IS CLOSELY LINKED TO LARGER ISSUE OF DURATION OF MAIN MEETING ITSELF, AND FOR TIME BEING AT LEAST MANY WESTERN AND NNA DELS PLUS ROMANIA ARE HOLDING FIRM AGAINST A "GUILLOTINE" FOR WORKING BODIES.

3. SATISFACTORY LANGUAGE HAS BEEN OBTAINED IN NNA PAPER TO DEAL WITH SOVIET CONCERN THAT PLENARY BE IDENTIFIED AS "THE MAIN BODY OF THE MEETING" WHICH WILL DETERMINE WHETHER OR NOT ANY ADDITIONAL WORKING BODIES MAY BE CREATED. NNA AND WESTERN DELS ARE RESISTING SOVIET EFFORTS TO DELETE LANGUAGE THAT WOULD GIVE WORKING BODIES A MANDATE TO CONDUCT THEIR REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AND NEW PROPOSALS ACCORDING TO THE "STRUCTURE AND SEQUENCE OF THE FINAL ACT." AS A TACTICAL COUNTER TO SOVIET EFFORTS TO DELETE THIS LANGUAGE WHICH WE CONSIDER IMPORTANT TO ENSURE A THOROUGH REVIEW USDEL HAS PROPOSED STRENGTHENING NNA LANGUAGE BY INCLUDING

EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO AGENDA OF MAIN MEETING.

4. MEDITERRANEAN: THIS POTENTIALLY DIFFICULT ISSUE WAS RESOLVED WITH PROVISIONAL REGISTRATION OF A PROPOSAL THAT PROVIDES FOR INVITATIONS TO ALL NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES (NPMS), INCLUDING LIBYA AND LEBANON (WHICH DID NOT APPEAR AT GENEVA) TO MAKE CONTRIBUTIONS BOTH TO PLENARY AND WORKING BODY ON MEDITERRANEAN. IT ALSO INCLUDES LANGUAGE TO EFFECT THAT MAIN MEETING MAY INVITE FURTHER ROUND OF NPMS CONTRIBUTIONS IF IT CONSIDERS IT "DESIRABLE". THIS SOLUTION IS MUCH MORE MODERATE THAN EARLIER IDEAL FLOATED BY MALTA THAT WOULD HAVE INVOLVED SOMETHING LIKE PERMANENT OBSERVER STATUS FOR NPMS.

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THE PROVISIONAL REGISTRATION OF OTHER POINTS: PLENARY REGISTERED PROVISIONALLY MORE THAN HALF OF POINTS IN NNA PAPER, INCLUDING SIX POINTS OF NINE POINT AGENDA AND NINE POINTS OF 13 POINT ORGANIZATIONAL SECTION. THREE REMAINING AGENDA POINTS ARE THE "THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS" ITEM, WHERE NATO RESERVE IS TIED TO MAINTENANCE OF ACCEPTABLE ORGANIZATIONAL PROVISIONS FOR WORKING BODIES, AND TWO POINTS RELATING TO HOLDING OF A FURTHER FOLLOW-UP MEETING AFTER BELGRADE. FOUR POINTS OF ORGANIZATIONAL SECTION NOT YET REGISTERED DEAL WITH MANDATE AND ALLOCATION OF TIME TO WORKING BODIES, AND DURATION.

6. PLENARY ALSO REGISTERED FACTUAL LANGUAGE INTENDED TO SERVE AS "CHAPEAU" OR INTRODUCTION TO DECISION SHEET, AND ITS TITLE. ROMANIAN REP HAS SUGGESTED ADDITIONAL INTRODUCTORY LANGUAGE ON "CONSTRUCTIVE" ATMOSPHERE OF PREPARATORY MEETING AND ITS GOOD AUGURY FOR MAIN MEETING. NNA AND WESTERN DELS ARE RELUCTANT TO ACCEPT THIS LANGUAGE LEST IT OFFER SOVIETS OPPORTUNITY TO EXPAND IT INTO "POLITICAL CONCEPT" INVOLVING GUIDELINE FOR CONDUCT OF MAIN MEETING.

7. DURATION: THIS HAS EMERGED AS KEY REMAINING ISSUE. SOVIETS AND THEIR WARSAW PACT ALLIES (MINUS ROMANIA) ARE ISOLATED IN THEIR DEMAND THAT THERE MUST BE A FIXED TERMINATION DATE, BUT SOVIETS INSIST THAT THEY CANNOT ACCEPT AN OPEN-ENDED MEETING. SOVIET REP HAS SAID INFORMALLY THAT UNLESS THERE IS FIXED TERMINATION DATE THERE CAN BE NO MAIN MEETING AND THAT SOVIETS ARE PREPARED TO SIT THROUGH AUGUST OR TO RETURN TO PREPARATORY MEETING IN SEPTEMBER IF THIS ISSUE IS NOT RESOLVED THEIR WAY. ENTIRE SPECTRUM OF WESTERN AND NNA DELS, PLUS ROMANIA, ARE HOLDING TO CONCEPT OF TWELVE WEEK TARGET DATE WITH AUTOMATIC EXTENSION IF MAIN MEETING'S TASK HAS NOT BEEN FULFILLED. ROMANIANS HAVE

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EVEN PROPOSED STRENGTHENING WHAT THEY CONSIDER TO BE TOO AMBIGUOUS LANGUAGE ON THIS POINT. LITTLE INTEREST HAS BEEN EXPRESSED IN SOVIET SUGGESTIONS THAT TERMINATION DATE COULD BE AS FAR OFF AS APRIL 1 SINCE THIS COULD INVOLVE WORST OF BOTH WORDS: A DRAGGED-OUT NEGOTIATION THAT WOULD BE FACED AT END OF ROAD WITH ARBITRARY CUT-OFF.

8. GROWING NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED COHESION: THE CBM EXPERTS FROM THE NINE NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED (NNA) COUNTRIES, MANY OF THEM GENEVA VETERANS, GATHERED HERE IN BELGRADE FOR A PRIVATE CAUCUS ON CBMS FOR THE MAIN MEETING. NNA DELS PLAN TO DEVELOP A COORDINATED POSITIONS ON NEW CBM PROPOSALS TO BE PUT FORWARD IN THE FALL. THIS IS THE FIRST CONCRETE EVIDENCE OF THE NNA'S UNDECLARED BUT EVIDENT INTENTION TO OPERATE AS A MORE COHESIVE UNIT DURING THE MAIN BELGRADE MEETING THAN THEY HAVE BEEN ABLE TO DO IN THE PAST. MOST DELEGATIONS HOPE THAT THE NNA COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENT WILL MAKE IT NECESSARY FOR MALTA TO TRIM MANY OF ITS MOST AMBITIOUS AIMS AND THAT IT WILL THEREFORE BE BENEFICIAL TO ALL.

9. PREPARATORY MEETING HAS NEVER HAD A FIXED TERMINATION DATE OF ITS OWN. UPCOMING END OF MONTH "DEADLINE" IS ARTIFICIAL, PRODUCED PRIMARILY BY EUROPEAN CUSTOM OF AUGUST HOLIDAYS. LOGICALLY, PREPARATORY MEETING COULD CONTINUE INTO AUGUST. PRACTICAL PROBLEM, HOWEVER, IS THAT EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT HAS ENGAGED INTERNATIONAL CREW OF SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETERS AND OTHER INDEPENDENT-MINDED AND DIFFICULT TO REPLACE TECHNICAL PERSONNEL ONLY THROUGH END OF JULY. IF NO AGREEMENT IS REACHED BY JULY 31, THEREFORE, IT MIGHT WELL BE NECESSARY TO RECESS UNTIL SEPTEMBER WITH SOME CONSEQUENTIAL DELAY IN PREPARATIONS FOR AND OPENING OF MAIN MEETING. KEY IS IN SOVIET HANDS. THEY ARE AWARE OF PRESSURES OPERATING ON MANY DELS AS END OF MONTH "DEADLINE" APPROACHES, INCLUDING FEARS THAT SOME

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HAVE THAT THIS COULD MEAN UNRAVELLING OF CSCE WITH RESULTING HARM TO DETENTE. SOVIETS THUS HAVE INCENTIVE TO HOLD BACK ANY CONCESSIONS THEY MAY ULTIMATELY BE PREPARED TO MAKE, AND WE DOUBT THAT WE WILL KNOW FOR SOME DAYS YET WHETHER THEY ARE BLUFFING OR NOT IN THIS POKER GAME WHEN THEY SAY THAT THEY HAVE NO LEEWAY ON DURATION ISSUE.

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## Message Attributes

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